

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 304356
ORIGIN NEA-07

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 DODE-00 HA-02 ICA-01
EUR-08 SP-02 L-01 /041 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/PAB:RDLORTON:DE/EI
APPROVED BY P:DNEWSOM
NSC:TTHORNTON
AID/NENA:RCARLSON
NEA:JMIKLOS S/P:ARAPHEL
EUR/SOV:RPERITO
DOD/ISA:RZWART
NEA/INS:PWLANDE
HA:EJONES NEA:HHAUNDERS
ICA:TPINCH

-----043694 011451Z /43

R 010612Z DEC 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY KABUL
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII 0000
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

S E C R E T STATE 304356

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, EAID, AF, US

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 304356

SUBJECT: ASSESSMENT OF AFGHAN DEVELOPMENTS AND U.S.-AFGHAN
RELATIONS

REFS: (A) STATE 240411; KABUL 7370

1. WE AGREE WITH THE BROAD OUTLINES OF YOUR ASSESSMENT OF
THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF DEVELOPMENTS IN AFGHANISTAN AND

THE UNCERTAIN PROSPECTS FOR A RETURN TO CLOSE U.S.-AFGHAN RELATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, WE STILL FIND OURSELVES UNSURE ABOUT THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME, EVEN ASSUMING THAT THE PRESENT REGIME MAINTAINS ITS HOLD ON POWER, AND WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD WORK FROM THE PREMISE THAT A CONSTRUCTIVE U.S.-AFGHAN WORKING RELATIONSHIP COULD STILL EMERGE. WE WONDER, IF AND WHEN THE SITUATION GELS A BIT MORE, WHETHER THE DRA WILL BECOME A DOCILE CAMP-FOLLOWER DOMINATED BY THE USSR, OR A RADICAL-LEFTIST REGIME ON THE FRINGE OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT BUT WITH PECULIAR AFGHAN CHARACTERISTICS AND A DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE. THE MOST ADVERSE DEVELOPMENT IN TERMS OF OUR INTERESTS WOULD BE THE INTRODUCTION OF SOVIET COMBAT TROOPS IN AFGHANISTAN, WHICH WOULD SERIOUSLY DISTURB THE ENTIRE REGION.

2. WE SEE, AS YOU DO, OUR REGIONAL INTERESTS AS PARAMOUNT IN OUR CONSIDERATION OF A PROPER APPROACH TO THE DRA AND WOULD VIEW AN IRRIDENTIST AFGHANISTAN, ESPECIALLY ONE BACKED BY THE SOVIETS, AS A SERIOUS THREAT TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE AREA. WE BELIEVE THIS IS A REAL FEAR ESPECIALLY IN PAKISTAN AND ALSO IN IRAN.

3. THE ASSESSMENTS OF AFGHANISTAN'S NEIGHBORS ARE SIMILAR TO OURS ALTHOUGH PAKISTAN AND IRAN CONTEND THAT AFGHANISTAN IS ALREADY IRREVOCABLY "LOST" TO THE SOVIET UNION. PAKISTAN SEEMS TO WANT US TO SHARE THEIR ASSESSMENT OF THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 304356

THREAT, PRESUMABLY TO OBTAIN A GREATER U.S. COMMITMENT TO PAKISTAN'S SECURITY. AT NO TIME HAVE THE PAKISTANIS QUESTIONED OUR POLICY OF MAINTAINING THE U.S. PRESENCE IN AFGHANISTAN. THE INDIANS SEEM SOMEWHAT MORE SANGUINE ABOUT BEING ABLE TO DEAL WITH THE DRA BUT, NONETHELESS, ARE VERY DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT INCREASED SOVIET INFLUENCE IN KABUL. WE NEED TO KEEP THESE VIEWS IN MIND WHEN JUDGING POSSIBLE REGIONAL REACTIONS TO ANY CHANGES IN OUR OWN POLICIES TOWARD AFGHANISTAN.

4. THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION ARE IN FACT FOLLOWING POLICIES QUITE SIMILAR TO OUR OWN. IRAN IS CONTINUING AID ALREADY COMMITTED ALTHOUGH HOLDING BACK FROM NEW AGREEMENTS. INDIA HAS APPARENTLY OFFERED TO STEP UP ITS ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN AFGHANISTAN AND HAS IN OUR VIEW BEEN PLAYING A VERY HELPFUL ROLE IN ATTEMPTING TO ENCOURAGE SOME DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE AND NON-ALIGNMENT BY THE NEW REGIME. PAKISTAN IS ACTIVELY PURSUING A POLICY OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE DRA (EXPEDITING TRANSIT OF AFGHAN TRADE, PRESIDENT ZIA'S SEPTEMBER 10 VISIT, DOWN-PLAYING OF AFGHAN REFUGEES, RESTRAINED RHETORIC) AND APPEARS TO SEE SUCH A POLICY AS IN ITS INTEREST.

5. ONE OPTION WOULD BE FOR US TO PHASE OUT OUR ACTIVITIES IN AFGHANISTAN, BUT WE BELIEVE THIS WOULD BE VERY UNSETTLING TO AFGHANISTAN'S NEIGHBORS AND INCOMPATIBLE WITH THEIR POLICIES. THE DRA HAS NOT ASKED US TO PACK OUR BAGS AND LEAVE BUT ON THE CONTRARY HAS ACCEPTED OUR POLICY OF MAINTAINING OUR INTEREST AND PRESENCE. CLOSING OUT OUR EFFORTS IN AFGHANISTAN WOULD LIKELY BE SEEN AS AN ABDICATION OF OUR RESPONSIBILITY AND WOULD ACCOMPLISH FOR THE SOVIETS ONE OF THEIR PRIMARY OBJECTIVES, NAMELY TO REDUCE FURTHER U.S. AND WESTERN INFLUENCE IN AFGHANISTAN (MOSCOW 23479) AND THE REGION. IT WOULD NOT BE IN OUR INTEREST TO GIVE SUCH A BLANK CHECK SIGNAL TO MOSCOW.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 304356

6. CONSEQUENTLY, WE BELIEVE THE GENERAL APPROACH ADVOCATED IN STATE 211102 REMAINS VALID AS A FRAMEWORK FOR U.S. POLICY. WE SHOULD NOT PRESS OUR AID ON THE AFGHANS BUT WE SHOULD SEEK OPPORTUNITIES TO MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH THE

DRA, TRY TO ESTABLISH MUTUALLY COMPATIBLE OBJECTIVES FOR OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, AND IDENTIFY PROJECTS WHICH SATISFY OUR AID MANDATE, OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AND THEIR CONCERNS. WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THAT THE AFGHANS THEMSELVES SEEM TO BE MOVING TO REDUCE OUR PRESENCE: A MUCH SMALLER PEACE CORPS PROGRAM; NO MILITARY TRAINING FOR AFGHANS IN THE U.S. FOR THE MOMENT, AND RESTRICTIONS ON THE DAO OFFICE; A MORE LIMITED CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM; AND A RESISTANCE TO PROPOSED USAID PROJECTS INCORPORATING LARGE AMOUNTS OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. FOR OUR PART, WE WILL ALSO HAVE TO BALANCE OUR HUMANITARIAN CONCERN IN HELPING THE PEOPLE OF ONE OF THE WORLD'S POOREST COUNTRIES WITH OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE NEW REGIME'S QUESTIONABLE HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE. THE AFGHANS SHOULD BE KEPT FULLY AWARE OF THESE CONCERNS IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE LEADERSHIP.

7. WE REGARD THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN AS AN EVOLVING ONE WHICH REQUIRES OUR CONTINUING ATTENTION AS WELL AS A CONTINUING DIALOGUE WITH OTHER STATES IN THE REGION. WE ENCOURAGE EMBASSIES TEHRAN, ISLAMABAD, AND NEW DELHI IN PARTICULAR TO CONTINUE EXCHANGING VIEWS WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS ON THE CHANGING AFGHAN SCENE, KEEPING IN MIND THAT OUR INFLUENCE IN KABUL IS SEVERELY LIMITED AND THAT WE LOOK TO AFGHANISTAN'S NEIGHBORS TO TAKE THE LEAD IN DEVELOPING A NETWORK OF COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE REGION. VANCE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, MILITARY ASSISTANCE, TROOP DEPLOYMENT, SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 01 dec 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE304356
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: RDLORTON:DE/EI
Enclosure: DG ALTERED
Executive Order: GS 19841201 NEWSOM, D
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780496-0420
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19781297/aaaadcig.tel
Line Count: 166
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 96603712-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NEA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: 78 STATE 240411, 78 KABUL 7370
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 459218
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ASSESSMENT OF AFGHAN DEVELOPMENTS AND U.S.-AFGHAN RELATIONS
TAGS: PEPR, EAID, PDEV, MPOL, AF, US, UR, PK, XF
To: KABUL ISLAMABAD MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/96603712-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014